

Message Text

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PAGE 01 HONG K 11600 230908Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
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C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 11600

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, CH
SUBJECT: A QUICKER PACE TO PURGES AND REHABILITATION.

REF: (A) PEKING 2377; (B) HONG KONG 11098; (C) HONG KONG 7982;
(D) HONG KONG 9075

SUMMARY: THE PURGE OF CADRES ASSOCIATED WITH LIN PIAO AND
THE GANG OF FOUR HAS RECENTLY INCREASED IN TEMPO AND MOMENTUM.
AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL, THREE OF SEVEN REMAINING FIRST
SECRETARIES TAINTED BY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION (CR) ARE
TARGETED. RENEWED PURGES REFLECT AN EFFORT BY VICE CHAIRMAN
TENG HSIAO-PING AND HIS ALLIES TO CONSOLIDATE PROVINCIAL
POWER BASES, REMOVE RESISTANCE TO POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND
COMPLETELY VINDICATE THE YEARS PRECEDING THE CR, WITH WHICH
TENG'S NAME IS INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED. INDICATIONS THAT
CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG HAS CLIMBED, OR BEEN PULLED, ABOARD
THE TENG BANDWAGEN SUGGEST THAT HUA MAY BE LESS LIKELY
TO BLOCK TENG-INITIATED PERSONNEL CHANGES AT THE CENTER
AND IN THE PROVINCES. A MORE HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP
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BETWEEN THE TWO TOP LEADERS AUGURS INCREASED STABILITY.
END SUMMARY.

1. BUILDING UPON A JUNE MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO REMOVE PSYCHO-
LOGICAL RESISTANCE TO NEW POLICIES BY DESANCITFYING MAO
AND ENCOURAGING A FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO MARXIST TENETS,
SUPPORTERS OF TENG'S PRAGMATIC POLICIES HAVE NOW SHIFTED

THEIR FOCUS IN RECENT WEEKS TO AN ATTACK ON PROVINCIAL AND LOWER LEVEL CADRE WHO EMBODY INERTIA AND RESISTANCE. THE NEW UPSURGE IS ALSO INTENDED TO CONSOLIDATE PROVINCIAL POWER BASES AND VINDICATE PRE-CR POLICIES ASSOCIATED WITH TENG.

2. AT THE PROVINCIAL LEADERSHIP LEVEL, THREE OF SEVEN CR-TAINTED FIRST SECRETARIES ARE NOW UNDER THE GUN. THE THREE ARE PEKING'S WU TE, HONAN'S LIU CHIEN-HSUN AND SHENSI'S LI JUI-SHAN. THE RENEWED ATTACK ON WU TE (REF A), THIS TIME CARRIED INTO THE PAGES OF PEOPLE'S DAILY, PROBABLY SIGNALS THE FINAL POLITICAL EMASCULATION OF THE LONG-TRoubLED PEKING MAYOR. THE LACK OF APPEARANCES BY HONAN FIRST SECRETARY LIU CHIEN-HSUN (REF B), COUPLED WITH REVELATIONS OF DIFFICULTIES AT CHENGCHOW UNIVERSITY, SIGNALS LIU'S PROBABLE DEMISE AS WELL.

3. IN SHENSI, FIRST SECRETARY LI JUI-SHAN APPEARS EXTREMELY VULNERABLE FOR HIS ROLE IN ALLOWING THE PHYSICAL ABUSE OF WORKERS BY COUNTY-LEVEL CADRES. FOLLOWING THE JUNE 15 PEOPLE'S DAILY EXPOSURE OF THE SUFFERING IN YENAN IN NORTHERN SHENSI (REF C), THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP HAS AGAIN ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SHENSI COMMITTEE, THIS TIME PUBLICIZING ABUSE OF LAW AND DISCIPLINE BY CADRES OF SHENSI'S HSUNYI COUNTY. ACCORDING

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TO AN AUGUST 2 PEKING BROADCAST, IN THE LAST THREE YEARS UNDER THE BRUTAL RULE OF HSUNYI CADRES, PEOPLE HAVE "COMMITTED SUICIDE, GONE INSANE AND SOME HAVE BEEN CRIPPLED." NEWS OF THESE ABUSES AND THE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THEM ARE BEING DISSEMINATED NATION-WIDE IN A CAMPAIGN WHICH MUST BE HIGHLY EMBARRASSING TO LI. MOREOVER, REPORTS THAT SHENSI'S GRAIN PRODUCTION IS DOWN 30 PERCENT FROM LAST YEAR CANNOT HEIGHTEN LI'S CONFIDENCE IN HIS POSITION.

4. AT THE SUB-PROVINCE LEVEL, CASES INVOLVING THOSE WHO COMMITTED VIOLENT CRIMES DURING THE CR HAVE BEEN REOPENED ON A LARGE SCALE. AMONG THE CASES EXPOSED, HAVE BEEN INCIDENTS OF TORTURE AND UNJUST HARASSMENT AT TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY (KUANGMING DAILY, AUGUST 6) AND IN SZECHUAN PROVINCE (PEOPLE'S DAILY, JULY 23). CONVERSELY, WITH EXPOSURE OF THESE INJUSTICES, VERDICTS AGAINST CR-ERA VICTIMS ARE BEING REVERSED. THE PRC-CONTROLLED HONG KONG WEN WEI PAO AUGUST 16 CLAIMED THAT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SUCH CASES ARE BEING SCREENED IN KWANGTUNG PROVINCE ALONE. HONG KONG'S NEUTRAL MING PAO AUGUST 18 REPORTED THAT KWANGTUNG EXECUTIVE SECRETARY CHIAO LIN-YI

HAS RECENTLY BEEN PURGED FOR COVERING UP THESE CRIMES
AND IMPEDING THE EFFORT TO RIGHT PAST INCORRECT VERDICTS.

5. THE CAMPAIGN TO REHABILITATE CR VICTIMS HAS LED TO
THE FIRST EN MASSE REHABILIOTATION OF A PRE-CR PARTY
COMMITTEE: THE WHOLESALE EXONERATION OF HEILUNGKIANG'S
PRE-CR APPARATUS. PRAISE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE
PARTY'S LEADERSHIP IN THE YEAR PRECEDING THE CR, A THEME
WHICH HAS BEEN ECHOED BY INNER MONGOLIA'S LEADERSHIP IN
A PROVINCIAL BROADCAST, SUGGESTS THAT ENG'S GOAL IS THE
COMPLETE VINDICATION OF POLICIES AND PERSONALITIEIS CONDEMNED
DURING THE CR AND REPUDIATION OF AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE OF THE
CR.

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6. COMMENT: TWO OF THE PROVINCIAL LEADERS IN DANGER,
LI JUI-SHAN AND WU TE, HAVE BEEN CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH
CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG; LI SERVED WITH HUA IN HUNAN, AND
WU, LIKE HUA, IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE 1976 TIENANMEN
INCIDENT. IN THE PAST IT HAS BEEN BELIEVED THAT HUA
PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN BLOCKING THE PURGE OF SUCH ASSOCIATES,
BUT THE ACQUIESCENCE OF HUA IN THE TENG LINE AT THE
EARLY JULY NATIONAL FINANCE AND TRADE CONFERENCE
(REF D) SUGGESTS THAT HUA AND TENG HAVE REACHED AN
ACCOMMODATION. IF HUA HAS ACQUIESCED IN TENG'S BROAD
POLICY LINE, HUA'S ABILITY OR WILLINGNESS TO PROTECT
ALLIES WHOM HE MAY NO PERCEIVE AS LIABILITIES IS CALLED
INTO QUESTION. LACK OF OBSTRUCTION BY HUA TO TENG-
INITIATED PERSONNEL CHANGES IMPLIES IN THE SHORT TERM
A SHAKING OUT OF ANACHRONISMS SUCH AS THE CR-TAINTED
PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES, BUT ALSO AUGURS INCREASED
STABILITY AND UNITY IN THE LONGER TERM.
SHOESMITH

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